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that is, the D.I.S. (District Inspector of Schools), whether active or re-517
tired, was usually more permanent and could dig his toes in more 647
happily. The social relationship was also ideal. Earning less than the 351
other officials, he could yet offer them this rich hospitality of natural
pleasures.

When we were in Maubin the D.I.S. was our friend U Taik Wan. 245
He and his family of ten sons and daughters had the u-yin developed to 252
its fullest. He had a low large house where the river took a bend and
had fenced in this bed with bamboo stakes and a diving platform. The
garden orchard stretched away from the house to a bamboo hut at
the far end, with open verandahs under the trees. The speciality
of his orchard were his sweet-sour marian trees. The marian is the
bonea Burmanica, common to Burma and northern Assam, where
it forms an ideal appetizer for the heat-drowsy inhabitants. It is sour,
of a sharp biting sourness which now makes my mouth water with
longing. It is too sour to eat except doused in strong salt sauce or fish
paste, salt being our antidote to sourness, in which I differ from the
English idea of cooking, for salt combines and merges in with sourness
whereas a pound of sugar thrown into a gooseberry tart would still leave
it too sour for me. The marian is a small fruit, green when young and
orange-yellow when ripe, with a pretty purple seed which has given its
name to the Burmese colour "mauve". There is a sweet variety which is
not popular. Sometimes, however, a prize tree is found which produces
a sweet-sour marian, a sour fruit with its sting taken off. Such a tree
should be treated with the greatest care; its fruits must never be salted or
pickled as sour fruits are treated, because the "sour" use would com-
municate itself to the tree by what may be called sympathetic magic.
Rather, my mother made jam (with sugar) of these marians, for the im-
provement of U Taik Wan's tree.

My mother was very punctilious about such things; the girl servants 252
were never allowed to pluck the citron leaves for our salad because a 841
woman in menstruation makes the tender leaves of the citron tree curl
up and lose their succulence when she plucks them. U Taik Wan had 789
a row of sweet-sour marian trees which he guarded from flying foxes by
throwing a net across one face of them, showing a wall of these creatures
hanging head downwards, to passers-by.

Our pyaw-pwè-sas at the Taik Wan's always began with a lot of 526
water-fun. We never used bathing dresses, but adapted our longyi for 291
swimming. This longyi is shaped and wrapped, like the more famous 515
sarong, at the waist normally, but women and girls take it above the
bosom when they discard their jackets. This enables all our poorer
women to bathe with perfect decorum at public wells and streams.

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and full dress on a cushion, the centre of the crowd of people who have been invited for feasting, to have the ears pierced with a gold pin and after this always to wear diamond ear-rings, but the ceremony has no deeper significance than that the parent feels he has done the best for his daughter at this stage of her life. The shinbyu, however, is much more than a social event. It has a religious meaning of the fullest beauty. 881 585

Although the women of Burma figure as actively and have the same rights as men in the fields of business, property, and professions of the modern world, we always keep alive in us the religious feeling that we are "below" mankind. It is not so much a feeling that women are a lower race as that a man has the nobility of manhood in him. We call it *hpon*, the glory, the holiness of a man, and we respect this not with subservience but with the same feelings as we respect monks and parents. 562 784 789 •

A wife does not throw her longyi across her husband's bed, she does not touch any of his possessions with her feet in carelessness, she uses a separate mug for her bathwater. A bad wife who does not respect her husband's manhood does him the greatest harm, for a man cannot prosper if his *hpon* is hampered; indeed, some women who indulge in black magic deliberately *hpon-nein* their husbands, that is, lower his *hpon* by carelessly wielding brooms above his head, throwing women's longyis on his pillow, thus making him subordinate, and believing that this makes the wife's will prevail over the husband's. But such a man can never make progress in his career.

It is the Buddhist belief that the attainment of a perfect life is as a man, as shown in Gautama Buddha's life as Prince Siddhartha. Prince Siddhartha was the son of King Suddhodana, who surrounded his son with all the luxury and splendour that his kingdom on the slopes of the Himalayas could offer. To prevent his son from renouncing his princely life for one of poverty and meditation he kept all sights of sorrow, sickness and decay hidden from him. He found him a perfect wife, beautiful, meek and affectionate, who bore him a son; but the prince in his excursions to a park in the city came across a decrepit old man, a sick old man and a corpse, which sights made him sad at the thought of human misery in this world. 779

The next time, however, he saw a hermit which suggested that peace of mind was achievable by renunciation of the vanities of the world. On the night that his son was born, Prince Siddhartha made the Great Renunciation and left everything to go into solitude and find out the cause of misery, and the means of its removal. The Dhammapada says of the world:

Come! behold this world which is like a decked royal chariot, wherein the foolish immerse themselves; but for the wise there is no attachment.

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face from bringing something off, money is paid in advance, rush tactics are employed to prevent the man returning from abroad from marrying the sweetheart of his college days, and in some cases even magic is resorted to, though in secret. This black magic, especially, involves some very undignified actions. A younger cousin of mine once warned his mother: "Please, Mother, never try to sell me like a bullock, or worse still to arrange a marriage for my sister. I will not help you to jump thrice on eggshells or throw ten viss of fish into a well at dead of night under instructions from a soothsayer." 593
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Although marriages were constantly being arranged among our circle of friends in Thaton, I was not allowed to attend weddings as a young unmarried girl. What we did attend regularly with the grown-ups were the *u-bok-nay*, the duty day gatherings every week in the resthouses among the hills. On these days Buddhists who choose to observe the day, obey eight or ten precepts instead of five. Amongst these ten are the abstaining from food after mid-day, absence of ornament and cosmetics in dress, meditation and prayer, and absence of a high couch in sleep. In Thaton the observance of this day was made the weekly social event with the same combination of material enjoyment and religious piety that characterizes all Burmese functions as described previously. Each family went to the hills early in the morning with mats, betel boxes and a well-cooked meal. The girls wore all the jewellery they had because we had not yet taken the precepts, and this was a good chance of showing that a family did not lack wealth. We met in the resthouses, to one of which a monk came to intone the precepts. These we repeated in chorus after him; then the elders talked and chewed betel, and at about 10-30 the whole party went to bathe in the pools made by the waterfalls down the hills. We went back to find the pooled dishes of four or five families laid out in a rich feast. We stuffed ourselves with this. The law states that food should not be eaten after noon, and the law was always obeyed in the letter if not in the spirit. [585]
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One maiden lady in Rangoon who kept duty days regularly ate till as near noon as she possibly could. She usually finished her meal with fruit, and if she was eating a banana when noon struck with a loud bang from the cannon at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, "Haw!" she would exclaim, and in would go the whole length of the banana into her mouth. After noon, tea and coffee are not allowed either but aerated waters, which look so much like water, are sanctioned. When my husband was a novice monk in the monastery, they were allowed medicinal products also after noon, and the hungry young novices often made a delicious soup of garlic (a digestive) fried in butter (medicinal component), and water poured on to the fragrant compound. [556]
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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

and ninepins, played with the big flat seeds of a jungle creeper. Pleasant they were under the shade of the great mango and pipul trees and the lofty cocoa-nut and palmyra palms, and exciting were the games, so that the customary stillness of the place was rudely broken upon by disputing voices, till a monk would come out and bring all back to work again as a penance. Then during the work there was the fun of the writing hour, when everybody had to write out maxims and prayers on his little parabai with a clumsy pointed steatite pencil. There were always some stiff-fingered big pupils who could not manage to write their copy neatly or correctly, and as punishment had to take the good writers on their backs and march ruefully up and down the long schoolroom during pleasure. Sometimes they were thrashed, but the other punishment was the more dreaded. Then there was the schoolmaster monk, who would tell fairy stories of the other three great islands which lie in the sea round about Myinmo mountain; of the half-moon-faced western islanders, and the wondrous tree that bore everything eatable one could wish for and delivered it ready cooked; the joys of the six heavens of the Nats and the grisly horrors of Nga-yè, with its fearful ages of fantastic punishments. Every now and again travelling necromancers and hmaw sayās would spend a night or two at the monastery, and in recompense for the little delicacies and odds and ends of food which good-natured neophytes would get for them, used to tell stories of witchery and marvel. Sometimes there would be a sā-haw yā, a kind of cyclic poet, who knew half the zats in the language by heart, and would recite a little just for practice. Or a tattooing sayā would come round and mark some particularly favoured youth with a quaint figure. Discussion as to its meaning and probable virtues would be carried on in the shadowy evenings for months afterwards. Varieties of this kind recur to the old Burman as he thinks of the school days long ago, and he sighs with as much conviction as any European that there are no days so happy as the school days.

English rule has disturbed old customs a good deal in the province, but even now we may say that, as an invari-

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Meditation is the only path to the higher seats whereby a man becomes a yahanda, fit for Ne'ban, possessed of the six kinds of wisdom :—

1. The faculty of seeing like a nat or dewa.
2. The faculty of hearing like a nat.
3. Creative power.
4. Knowledge of the thoughts of others.
5. Freedom from passion.
6. Knowledge of one's own past existences.

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They sit therefore for long hours fingering their rosaries, the beads made of the seeds of the *Canna indica*, "Indian shot," which sprang from Shin Gautama's blood, and repeating many times the prescribed formulæ, most often the Thama-tawi Patthana—All is changeful, all is sad, all is unreal; followed by the Tharana Gôn, the invocation of the Three Precious Gems, the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly. So by abstraction of the mind they hope to acquire the four laws of Edepat :—

1. Absolute power over the will.
2. Absolute power over the mind.
3. Absolute power of execution.
4. Absolute power over the means to the object.

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The discipline is terrible to all but a slow-minded man, and we can well imagine one who thus presents himself to the people as a living memento of all that is sacred and perfect in the religion, longing for the extinction of Ne'ban, where he may escape from the misery of recurring lives.

Ask of the sick, the mourners, ask of him
Who tottereth on his staff, lone and forlorn,
Liketh thee life? These say, The babe is wise
That weepeth being born.

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So each one in the brotherhood passes the time each afternoon: some asleep, some racking the brain with mystical musings, some learning, some teaching, while throughout all sounds the din of the schoolroom, where the pupils are shouting out their tasks at the top of their voices.

Between three and four the lessons are finished, and the shins and scholars perform any domestic duties that may be

The following recipes and formulas to be repeated during tattooing are taken from a Mandalay tattooer's book:—

For an a-nu se: "I was Kutha Min, I. At the time when Papawadi was my queen, when I routed the kings of all the seven countries who came suing for her hand. Right beautiful was she, fair as the malla flower when it perfumes the forest with its odours. I the great Kutha Yaza."

This is to be repeated seven times at various stages in the operation. Kutha Yaza is the hero of one of the 510 Zats, detailing the previous births of the Lord Buddha.

For an a-hpi se: "Steal gold from the pagodas, fine, bright gold. Refine it in the fire and repeat the magic words in the house, on the lonely path, before the lucky star, at the pagoda; repeat them a thousand times save one. Consecrate the water, draw the circle of the flying galôn. Put it under the left arm, under the right arm. No harm will befall thee, safe and invulnerable."

"A parrot tattooed on the arm will give great favour with princes."

"Take a length of bamboo or of rattan the size of a joint of the merchant's finger, and repeat, pressing your foot against the tha-bye tree, Nat-tha wa-pa, wa-pa nat-tha na. Repeat this seven times and put the joint in your mouth when you are in danger. There is no better the-nat hpi."

The merchant's finger (let thugywè) is the third—that on which rings are worn. The forefinger is called let-hno. Hno means to hate, but whether this is the meaning or not—as it were "the finger of scorn"—I do not know.

"Repeat sa ba pa wa wa ba pa wa with the tooth of the wild boar in your palm, with the wild boar's ear as you know. Draw the circle with pure red gold. Draw in it a nagā; then draw sideways the figure of a flying lion. Write round it ôm gyu-lu gyu-lu thwa ha ya. Then carry rice, fresh water, betel, tobacco, and le'pet to the pagoda and heap them together. When you have repeated a thousand times the words of the encircling gāta (spell) put it below the skin. But be careful not to give it to the first man who asks for it. It is very powerful." This is another a-hpi se.

Certain stones called amadé, said to be found in the

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The ceremony of excommunication, *thabeit hmauk* (literally, inverting the alms-bowl), is sufficiently solemn. The monks gather in a circle round the culprit, and the latter part of the *Kammawā*, that which is read to drive sickness and evil spirits out of a town, is gravely recited by the abbot, the surrounding brethren responding at the end of each sentence. When it is finished, his yellow-robes are taken off him, his alms-bowl is turned mouth downwards, and he is hurried out of the monastery limits. His condition is pitiable. No one may speak to him; no monk will take alms from him; he can neither buy nor sell; he is not allowed even to draw water from a well, or drink from the jars at a wayside *zayat*. He is as much an outcast as any pagoda slave, and grievous is the penance he must go through before he is once more received into the society even of laymen. It occasionally happens when there is much evil living in a district, or if the people are lax in their religious observances, that the brethren of the *kyaung* put the neighbourhood under a *bañ* by inverting their alms-bowls, and refusing to go out begging. There is no greater proof of the power of the assembly than the rapidity with which this effects its purpose. The most careless are brought to a sense of their sinfulness in a few days. Such excommunication is, however, more and more rare.

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Before the death of the Lord Buddha, the *yahans* all addressed one another as *awutthaw*; but after he had attained the *ne'ban* of *khan-das* under the *eng-gyin-bin* (*Shorea robusta*), a recognition of relative rank was instituted. The inferiors, we are told, called the more advanced in the order, *bante*, while the juniors were addressed in their turn, by their proper name, or that of their family. In Burma, however, this regulation prevails only to a very slight extent. With the mendicants, as with the royalty, and indeed with the populace at large, it is considered uncivil to mention a person's name in conversation, and his rank, or the *kyaung* he belongs to, is used instead, or perhaps only the designation of his sacred profession. The laity indiscriminately address all wearers of the yellow robe as *payā* (lord).

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Similarly the "punishment of Brahma," recommended by the great master to be employed against weaker brethren, is

head, glinting white through the trees, appears the slender spire of a small pagoda. The jungle growth has spread all over the hill, or image, and the outline and features of the Buddh struggle to be seen through a heavy fog of varied green. Such monster images exist here and there all over the Eastern districts. They are all exceedingly ancient, and are regarded more as glorifications of the Great Master than as recognised places for devotion. The pious deposit offerings and chant their sentences before them as they do everywhere before the features of the Buddha, but otherwise the people regard them more with the curiosity of the foreigner than with the adoration of the devotee.

Among the more ignorant and superstitious classes it is not at all uncommon to find particular images regarded with especial awe and reverence, on account of the tale of some prodigy displayed. The sacred order and all true Buddhists, however, strenuously discountenance the idea of any miracles being wrought either by particular images or by holy relics. It is for this reason that the latter are in Burma all walled up and not brought out for the inspection of worshippers as in other Buddhist countries. The Kammawāsā in its denunciation of the claiming of magic powers is also considered to forbid the assertion that any particular statue displays more than usual power—a power which could not fail to lead directly to idolatry. The passage runs as follows: "No brother must arrogate to himself what goes beyond the power of human nature, and he must not boast of exceptional abilities. Whoso gives out with evil intentions that he possesses supernatural powers, saying that he has attained zān, or 'ne'ban, or command of religion, or undisturbed repose on the path that leads to the deliverance; he is no Sramana; he is no son of Sakya. As a broken palm-tree cannot be again united, as a twig broken from the stem cannot be joined on again, so is that religious man, who falsely declares that he has attained the superhuman, fallen away from the true Sramanas, separated from the sons of Sakya. So long as life lasts must this be avoided."

Nevertheless unprincipled yahans, fearing that the piety of their district is growing slack, or wishing to attract benevolent pilgrims to their neighbourhood, undoubtedly

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do occasionally originate, or at any rate stimulate, the belief in prodigies. A common wonder is that of the Tat-daw pwa, growing images. I am not aware that they are made of meteoric stones or any such substance. The carnal and unregenerate are wont to assert that these images only grow at night and then in sudden jumps. In any case, they never grow very big.

A more unusual miraculous discovery actually resulted in the growth of a small fishing village into a prosperous town, and, owing to this latter circumstance, into the head of one of the subdivisions under the British Government. This is the station of Myan-aung on the Irawaddy. A Gautama rose out of the ground there. That was, however, not the wonder. It perspired! It perspired a thick, sticky exudation which precluded the necessity of using the milky juice of the thapan thi (*Ficus racemosa*), the gum usually employed in fixing gold-leaf on the images or pagodas. The tidings soon spread far and wide, and people journeyed from distant towns to see the wonder and to plaster on fabulous quantities of gold-leaf. The hamlet rapidly grew into a town. The surrounding country was taken up and cultivated, and Myan-aung is now as pretty a little station as any you will see on the great Irrawaddy, and is one of the principal centres of the great Henzada district.

Another little fishing village, farther down the river, below Maubin, possessed in 1879 a singular image. This Buddha in most unusual fashion suddenly began to develop a moustache. It was not much to speak of, and was certainly not pretty, but there was undoubtedly a growth of some kind on the upper lip. The phenomenon, however, never had more than an exceedingly local interest. A moustache is not an appendage that appeals to a Burman's finer feelings to any great extent, and if Shin Gautama had one in life he would certainly have shaved it off. Therefore the swampy, mosquito-haunted district failed to better its fortunes. A good many people came and gazed on the ugly bristles and made offerings, but they went away again, and the enthusiasm was strangled before it was well born. The military assistant commissioner of the district declared in an off-hand way that it was a fungus of a new kind, or

some hitherto undiscovered lichen, and had thoughts of chipping a bit of the lip off and sending it to the British Museum. But he refrained, and the villagers missed even this poor chance of notoriety.

There are a few images specially noteworthy with less questionable reason. One of these stands half-way up Mandalay Hill under a lofty teak tectum. It is a gigantic standing image profusely gilt all over, and pointing with steadfast finger full at the glittering central spire of the palace rising gracefully over the throne of the Ruler of Existence. As a half-way house on the toilsome ascent of the hill it is always frequented, but the superstitious wayfarers gaze through the gilt railings more with the awe due to the guardian spirit of the capital than with the fervency of the worshipper. It has been burnt since the annexation.

In the chapel on the summit of the hill, looking over the wide, fertile plain towards the black, jagged Nat's Peak, haunted by goblins and wraiths, the silver windings of the mighty Irrawaddy and the barren pagoda-sprinkled Sagaing hills beyond, there is a singular statue. A notice begs the religious to put their gold-leaf, not indiscriminately all over the figure, but only on the eyeballs. The zeal of many years causes the pupils to start from their sockets as if the Buddha were horrified by some gruesome deed of sin perpetrated in the golden city below. The last time I was there I heard a matter-of-fact Briton marvelling how it was that the goodly nuggets had not long since been removed by a sacrilegious hand. It seems to be always Englishmen who think of these things first.

A hundred yards from the foot of the sacred hill in a tall brick building is a great marble Buddha, probably the biggest monolith in the world. The sitting figure must be quite twenty-five feet high, and scores of tons weight. It does the Mandalay workmen great credit that with their primitive appliances they should have been able to mount so ponderous a figure on its pedestal. In a wide square round about are arranged little six-foot shrines, each containing a gilt image and all looking towards the central Buddha. It is not the least wonderful of the many wonderful things to be seen round the foot of Mandalay Hill.

If a hen lays an egg upon a cloth, its owner will lose money. To come across mushrooms at the beginning of a journey is a most fortunate sign. A snake crossing the path always denotes delay, whether in a lawsuit, a journey, or a warlike expedition. If a dog carries an unclean thing up into his master's house, he may get thrashed for it, but the man will become rich; and so on in infinite variety.

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All this belief in supernatural powers tends to produce abundance of experts who profess to be able to explain signs and to control the evil spirits. Every district possesses its nat thungè, or nat meimma, a spirit woman who dances at the nat feasts, and at ordinary times is consulted by the superstitious on all kinds of subjects connected with her trade. She is asked where ~~so-and-so~~, lately deceased, is, to what seat of the world he has migrated; where absent persons are, and what they are doing; what facilities there are for special undertakings, and when they should be begun.

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The Bedin Sayās claim similar knowledge, and are equally abundant. Numbers of them may be seen at any time of the day sitting under the trees on the way up to the Shwe Dagôn pagoda, writing and rubbing out figures and letters on their black note-books, and drawing a comfortable income from an unfailing succession of inquirers. Sometimes such a magic-worker, wishing to establish a reputation, or having a spite against somebody, performs the ceremony called pōnnaga taikgyin. He carries off some cinders from the funeral pyres of people who have been burnt, and collecting a large assortment of such charred pieces of wood, puts them secretly in the house of the person whose feelings he wishes to work on. At night the spirits come and keep up a battery of stones on the unfortunate man's roof, all attempts to find out where the stones come from being as unavailing as they were in a similar instance in the suburbs of London not very long ago.

It is consolatory, however, to know that piety will protect any one from the attacks of malevolent spirits. Numerous stories told by the yahans prove the virtue of the gâtas to guard against evil. If the victim has only knowledge and strength of mind sufficient to recite these religious formulæ,

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the wiles of the nats are harmless. In case of the utmost need, even the ordinary tharana-gôn, the payā, tayā, thengā, is of much avail, if only uttered with faith. It is with the idea of keeping away bilus, tasés, and demons that the members of the yellow robe are often summoned to deathbeds. There is no thought of the monk administering spiritual consolation to the dying man. The good influence of his pious presence keeps away evil spirits, and nothing more. No exhortations of the yahan can alter the balance of merit and demerit which is already cast up for the dying man. On the other hand, in out-of-the-way parts of the country, and especially in the hills, spirit shrines are not unseldom found actually inside a monastery compound.

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Love, the cloud-rack,
Flashed blue gleams of hope back,
Broke and fumed its fringes black ;
Here I wait
At thy gate ;
Open straight,
Be not late,
Hot with hope I wait.

My pet is fair
With flowers twined in her hair,
Kerchief gold-meshed like a snare,
Like a net
Fairly set
Hearts to get,
Sweet my pet,
Mine lies in that net.

Courtly story
Tells of queenly glory :
My queen's as fair and more, aye.
Eyebrow tint,
Just a glint,
Slightest hint
Of art in 't,
Eyebrow's pencilled tint.

Painted cheeks sweet,
Nosegay where all scents meet,
See, I throw me at thy feet.
There is none
To be won,
No not one
'Neath the sun,
Like my love there's none.

The thein-nats are certain spirits, or superior beings, who preside over the showers. It rains whenever they come out of their houses (the stars), to sport about and have mimic fights in the air. The thunder and the lightning are the clashing and shining of the celestial arms. When the sun is in the house of the goat it is very hot, and the thein-nats do not come out. To arouse them from their lethargy, if the rains are long of coming, it is a common custom in country places to have a lónswéthi, a tug-of-war. A chain or a stout cable is got, and the villagers divide themselves into two parties, and pull and shout and get up as much excite-

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ment as possible, to stimulate the thein-nats to exert themselves also. A lónswèthi sometimes continues for nearly an hour without definite result.

The "painted cheeks," or "fragrant cheeks," so frequently mentioned in all these love-songs, refers to the thana'kha, a sweet-scented, straw-coloured powder made from the bark and roots of the *Murraya paniculata*, a flowering shrub of the citron species. Some girls, and especially some actresses, have particular recipes for making up the cosmetic into a moist paste. It is applied with the finger, and a good deal of skill is exhibited in putting on the requisite amount. Unpractised hands usually smear on far too much, and it is as unsightly as a badly whitewashed outhouse. On others it is barely visible. All girls use it, and not a few town dandies.

The following may be regarded as somewhat of an approach to the European *vers de société*. I have not attempted to imitate the original metre:—

THE CIGAR-MAIDEN OF MADEYA, NEAR MANDALAY

Thy cheroots, so deftly fingered,
Famous are in Burma's land,
Many a chief has fondly lingered,
Watched the maiden's nimble hand.

Madeya, I'd spare to sing thee
For cheroots and dainty maids,
For their crispness doth but bring thee
Sorrow from the palace blades.

By the throne's great gilded grandeur
Sits the prince, cheroot in hand,
And behind him little Ma Nyo,
Pearl of all the village band.

Burnt up all my love and sighing,
Like the ash of his cigar;
Hopes dispelled and idly flying,
Like the smoke he puffs afar.

Thy cheroots so deftly fingered,
Madeya are silver-white,
But the prince that came and lingered,
Stole away the hamlet's light.

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CHAPTER XLIV

WIZARDS, DOCTORS, AND WISE MEN

WIZARDS and witches are very common in Burma. The thing runs in families, and on the Chindwin river in Upper Burma there is a village called Kale Thaungthut, "the small town at the top of the sandbank," where the entire population is credited with supernatural power of this kind. They have a king there, and if a person who has been bewitched goes to him and represents that he has been malignantly and unjustifiably laid under a spell by some unknown person, the wizard king goes through some inverted prayers and ceremonies, and utters an incantation, which forces the bewitcher to his presence. An explanation is then demanded, and if no just cause can be shown, the witch is punished and the afflicted person is freed from his ailment. Many bewitched people who have gone there to be cured have, however, never come back again, and pilgrimages thither are therefore not so common as they might be otherwise, and of course no one, not afflicted, would be reckless enough to go, as it were, into the lion's den.

But there are good witches and bad. There are the sôns, who delight in nothing so much as in killing people, afflicting them with epilepsy, fits, and divers other ailments; and there are the wézas, who are good people, and strive to overthrow the machinations of the sôns against the welfare of mankind, while themselves learned in all the knowledge of the mystic art. Wéza simply means wisdom or knowledge, and the sorcery studied by both classes is the same. Both kinds of wise men are divided into four orders, according

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to the branch of learning to which they have applied themselves more particularly. Thus there are—

1. The Pyada wéza, the mercury wise man.
2. The Than wéza, the iron wise man.
3. The Se wéza, the medicine wise man.
4. The In wéza, the wise man learned in cabalistic signs and squares.

The than and in sorcerers are the most powerful and efficacious in their workings, whether for good or evil, and the others are looked upon more as experimenters and candidates for the higher ranks than as legitimate wizards. To the class of mercury wizards belong all those who make a regular practice of the study of alchemy with a view to the production of gold and silver, and on this subject almost every Burman has some pet notion. The medicine wizards are those who set up as professional doctors on the score of a particular knowledge of herbs and simples. It is a very simple matter starting as a doctor in Burma. All you have to do is to assert that you have acquired a special knowledge, and set to work prescribing the most villainoustasted and drastic medicines you can concoct. As long as an undeniable result one way or the other is produced you are sure of getting a certain amount of reputation.

The than and in practitioners have a more legitimate title to the name of conjurers or workers in magic. The title of iron wizard is merely typical, and implies that the man has a knowledge of the properties of all natural objects, and is as capable, or more so, of acting the rôle of a medical adviser as the professed doctors. The discovery and preparation of the pieces of metal, stones, and what not, that are let under the skin of soldiers and dacoits is carried on by them, and this vending of charms is a regular source of income to them. An occasional marvel worked now and then acts as a recommendation and advertisement of their powers. Thus I have seen a hmaw sayā, a kind of generic term applied to all wonder-workers, roll up pieces of gold and silver leaf and thin sheets of copper, and throw them into a bowl of water. They of course sank immediately to the bottom, and then the sayā would make passes with his

hands and mutter an incantation, when the metal would slowly rise to the top and float there. When sceptics were present, this man would suddenly stop the charm he was uttering, and the bits of metal would either remain floating in the middle of the bowl of water or sink down again, according to the part of the spell to which he had reached. How it was done is only known to wizards of his class and sleight-of-hand people perhaps, but to the actual fact of this *khôntet letpwè*, as it is called, numbers of people, Europeans as well as Burmans, can testify. The conjurer is a well-known man near the village of Pantanaw, fifty miles or so west of Rangoon.

But however many miracles the *than wéza* may work, he is always exceeded in reputation by the constructor of cabalistic squares and symbols. These are in constant use by every Burman, or rather he gets them made and interpreted for him by a proficient. The horoscope which every one has drawn up at his birth has numbers of these mystical numbers on it, from which lucky days and dangerous combinations may be learnt. To calculate the more harmful spells the *in sayā* should have these data, or at any rate should know the date and hour of the victim's birth. Therefore it is a safe rule never to let a wizard or conjurer see your *sadā*, or to mention the hour of your birth to any one whom you may suspect of having an ill-will against you, for he might from even that one fact have a most potent charm thrown over you. These mystic squares and numbers have most extraordinary virtue. By holding up one of a particular kind for a short time you can set a house on fire. Another if engraved on a stone will make it float, and such a stone, buried in the skin of a man's body, would prevent him from drowning, unless some other magician destroyed its influence by a more potent spell. If you scratch an *in* on a tree or a house, you can make lightning strike it; another arrangement of the cabalistic words or numbers will preserve it from such a calamity. There is probably not a single Burman, tattooed at all, who has not several *ins* on different parts of his body. Some of them protect from special ailments; the most common are those which avert dangers from bullet or sword-cut.

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are stuck into him, red pepper is forced into his eyes, and the louder he shrieks and groans the better pleased are his friends and relations, for it is the witch, or the natso, that is suffering, and not the sick man at all. If this treatment does not kill or cure him, a final effort is made. A middle-aged woman, sometimes a member of the family, dresses herself up in a fantastic way, and assumes the name of "wife of the evil spirit." A shed is erected for the occasion just outside the house. Music is brought, and the woman begins to dance, slowly at first, and then gradually more and more furiously, until at length she works herself into a regular frenzy or ecstasy. Then it is supposed that the demon has passed out of the sick man into her, and that whatever answers she now gives to questions are the utterances of the demon. Consequently, whatever she directs is implicitly carried out. The instructions usually resolve themselves into offerings to be placed outside for the evil spirit at nightfall. If this fails, then the witch doctors and medicine doctors unite in declaring that the nat is too strong for them, and abandon their patient. Occasionally, if he is of a very strong constitution, he revives after that. Such performances are limited to remote jungle places nowadays. Thus, however, the provinces of the physician and the necromancer run into one another, and it is difficult to say where science ends and magic begins.

Shampooing is almost always employed in every disease, in addition to the prescriptions of the doctor; and here, at any rate, we have real skill. The shampooers are almost always women, though most men know a little about it too. A professional has a most wonderful knowledge of all the tendons and muscles in the human body, and follows them up with a light pressure of the fingers that affords a relief in the case of rheumatism and stiffness from exhaustion, which is simply incredible to all but those who have experienced it.

In addition to their other work, the hmaw sayās are very much resorted to for love philtres and potions by both sexes. They have always an answer pat if the prescription fails: it is due to the opposition of the eingsaung nat, the guardian spirit of the house; or the applicant has made a mistake as to the date of birth of the object of his affection

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Knowledge of this latter particular is imperative, and an error of an hour or two makes all the difference in the composition of the potion.

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It ought to be unsatisfactory to an intelligent Burman's feelings to think that the man who prescribes for him in a dangerous illness is possibly at the same time mixing cunning draughts for a love-sick maid, or is manufacturing an image of a girl with magical charms and drugs which shall drive the original mad and soothe the vengeful wrath of the rejected suitor. Perhaps it is on this account that a Rangoon Burman, if he falls ill out in the district anywhere, hurries back to town as fast as he can. If he cannot do that, the best thing is to call in a *wéza* in preference to an unknown doctor; for while the former will probably confine himself to incantations at first, the dietist will irritate all the gastric juices in your body by prescribing some new variety of food, and banning everything you have been accustomed to; while the druggist will cram you to the throat with cathartics and anthelmintics, with arsenic, fungi from bamboo roots, green vitriol, decoctions of lemon grass, borax, croton seeds, and vegetable soot.

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The father of Burmese medical science was the celebrated physician *Zewaka*, who once cured a colic which afflicted the Lord Buddha *Gautama*, by simply giving him three flowers to smell. Upon the petals were strewn some potent powders which restored perfect health in a few hours. To this good medico is to be ascribed the assertion that the diseases which afflict mankind are ninety-six in number. These may vary in their symptoms according to the thirty-five temperaments, the forty-five accidents, the sixteen dangers, and the four elements, but there are no more than ninety-six *wedana* for all that. Accordingly, a very common beginning to a formal Burmese letter is to say that by his correspondent's good wishes the writer has been preserved from the ninety-six *andayè*; the thirty-two *kan-chammā*, or pieces of bad luck; the twenty-five *baya*, dangers from assassins, wild beasts, and the like; and finally from *aneitta bala*, evils of all kinds, envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness: his friend's regard has kept all these things far from him, may the writer's good will be not less efficacious. Therefore it is

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In another picture a crow is represented breaking a vessel full of money with its beak. Close at hand are a man and woman embracing one another. This denotes loss.

A man and his wife represented dancing together signify great gifts to the pagoda.

Another picture, which represents a husband and wife standing together in front of a house, with a horse and cow near it, denotes that the child to whom this picture may refer will be a farmer.

Near the picture of a dog, which one man holds by the tail while another hits it on the head, is written: "When the lot falls here, be not boastful, but humble; avoid pride and assumption, for that will only raise up enemies for you."

The following are some spells:—

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Take this amulet (a piece of bone carved rudely square, and with mystic figures on it), put your foot up against a thabye tree, and repeat the Ittipithaw (a form of worship in learning which one spends four or five months in the monasteries) thirty-seven times. Then you will be able to turn any given man into a ghost and make him do as you please.

Take the stalk of a betel leaf in your hand. Repeat "Ôm padan rupa wari thwa ha" seven times, and then throw the stalk at the person. He or she is sure then to listen to what you say.

The following is a charm to cause a dream about your lady-love:—Get an exact likeness of her made. Find out the hour and day on which she was born, her name and exact age. Then having begged permission from the guardian spirit of both the houses (your own and hers), chant as follows: "O Thurathadi, fairest goddess of flowers, daughter of nats most high, grant most graciously all that I desire of thee: tasa machan: without keeping back the least remainder; without withdrawing a single joy: prithee do this without fail, sweet goddess of woodland love." Repeat this seven times before the figure. Then go to sleep.

For seven days after either kind of funeral, mourning goes on in the house. This means in wealthy houses indiscriminate eating and drinking. Cooking goes on all night, and all day relays of condoling visitors come and eat and enjoy themselves. The yahans also come every morning and receive offerings, and recite a string of Pali sentences. Friends bring contributions towards all this expenditure, but the result of it too often is that the heir finds that not only are all his father's hoarded rupees gone, but he himself has contracted a very considerable burden of debt. Even in the case of poor people, where the feasting is limited to the seventh day, great expense is incurred. The yahans are as necessary then as at the funeral, for the house must be purified, and the evil spirits who may be hanging about, as well as the leip-bya of the deceased, have to be exorcised and driven away. Then the pot containing the bones, if the dead person was burnt, is taken to the graveyard and buried, or sometimes is put into a hole near the pagoda. Superstitious people at burials sometimes affirm that they have caught the "butterfly" of the deceased in a handkerchief, and take this home to the house, where it lies till the seventh day, when it is opened after the discourse of the yahans, and the leip-bya is driven from the house. It can then give no more trouble.

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Sometimes a small pagoda is erected over the cremated ashes of a highly respected relative. These are regarded simply as monuments, even when they are over a king, to whom alone of laymen in Native Burma they could be erected. They must not be used as places to offer worship, and that this may be known, the members of the sacred order ordain that such pagodas shall have no hti, no umbrella, on the top. To obviate this it is usual with the builder to dedicate the place to Shin Gautama, and thus at once secure a monument and a hti. Pagodas erected in honour of yahandas, or particularly sainted pōngyis, receive the umbrella of right, and are places very eminently suited for the pious laymen to worship at. Such temple tombs are called ayo sedi, but are not of such frequent erection as they used to be.

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In some cases the relations grind down the bones to powder, and mixing this with the wood oil called thitsi,

120 THE SOUL OF A PEOPLE CH.

792 down become green again, than an elect guilty of such pride be restored to his holy station. Take care for yourself that you do not give way to such an excess.

779 Is not this teaching the very reverse of that of
787 all other peoples and religions? Can you imagine
● 789 the religious teachers of any other religion being
792 warned to keep themselves free from visions? Are not visions and trances, dreams and imaginations, the very proof of holiness? But here it is not so. These are vain things, foolish imaginations, and he who would lead the pure life must put behind him all such things as mere dram-drinking of the soul.

This is a most wonderful thing, a religion that condemns all mysticisms. It stands alone here amongst all religions, pure from the tinsel of miracle, either past, or present, or to come. And yet this people is, like all young nations, given to superstition: its young men dream dreams, its girls see visions. There are interpreters of dreams, many of them, soothsayers of all kinds, people who will give you charms, and foretell events for you. Just as it was with us not long ago, the mystery, *what is beyond the world*, exercises a curious fascination over them. Everywhere you will meet with traces of it, and I have in another chapter told some of the principal phases of these. But the religion has kept itself pure. No hysteric visions, no madman's dreams, no clever conjurer's tricks, have ever shed a tawdry glory on the monkhood of the Buddha. Amid all the superstition round about them they have remained pure, as they have from passion and desire. Here in the far East, the very home, we

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THE MONKHOOD

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think, of the unnatural and superhuman, the very cradle of the mysterious and the wonderful, is a religion which condemns it all, and a monkhood who follow their religion. Does not this out-miracle any miracle?

With other faiths it is different: they hold out to those who follow their tenets and accept their ministry that in exchange for the worldly things which their followers renounce they shall receive other gifts, heavenly ones; they will be endued with power from above; they will have authority from on high; they will become the chosen messengers of God; they may even in their trances enter into His heaven, and see Him face to face.

Buddhism has nothing of all this to offer. A man must surrender all the world, with no immediate gain. There is only this: that if he struggle along in the path of righteousness, he will at length attain unto the Great Peace.

A monk who dreamed dreams, who said that the Buddha had appeared to him in a vision, who announced that he was able to prophesy, would be not exalted, but expelled. He would be deemed silly or mad; think of that—mad—for seeing visions, not holy at all! The boys would jeer at him; he would be turned out of his monastery.

A monk is he who observes purity and sanity of life. Hysteric dreams, the childishness of the mysterious, the insanity of the miraculous, are no part of that.

And so a monk has to put behind him everything that is called good in this life, and govern his body and his soul in strict temperance.

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214 THE SOUL OF A PEOPLE CH.

586 were the talk of the village. All attempts of the
593 headman and elders to restrain him were useless.
[626] He became quarrelsome, and went on from one
thing to another, until at last he was suspected of
being concerned in a crime. So then when all means
had failed to restore her husband to her, when they
had drifted far apart and there was nothing before
them but trouble, she went to the elders of the
village and demanded a divorce. And the elders
granted it to her. Her husband objected; he did
not want to be divorced. He claimed this, and he
claimed that, but it was all of no use. So the tie
that had united them was dissolved, as the love had
been dissolved long before, and they parted. The
man went away to Lower Burma. They tell me he
has become a cultivator and has reformed, and is
doing well; and the girl is ready to marry again.
Half her property is gone, but half remains, and she
has still her little business. I think they will both
do well. But if they had been chained together,
what then?

586 You see that divorce is free. Anyone can obtain
428 it by appearing before the elders of the village and
demanding it. A writing of divorcement is made
out, and the parties are free. Each retains his or
her own property, and that earned during marriage
is divided; only that the party claiming the divorce
has to leave the house to the other—that is the only
penalty, and it is not always enforced, unless the
house be joint property.

586 As religion has nothing to do with marriage,
789 neither has it with divorce. Marriage is a status,
a partnership, nothing more. But it is all that.

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(arm-tie) charm consisting of a small metal tube bound about the upper arm or neck and containing an inscription written by a pongyi on silver or aluminum foil. Once a year, after new years (in March), a PAYA-YUDA (prayer-recite) ceremony is held. At this time pongyis recite the precepts of Buddha for the benefit of the ghosts - who "become hot and run away". Younger people, especially children, are susceptible to being possessed by ghosts. At this time they "throw fits" and are uncontrollable. Under the supervision of a pongyi the ghost is cast out by means of threats and beatings administered to the person of the possessed one. Beatings are severe and continuous often lasting an hour, until the ghost says he is "afraid" and departs. The possessed one, thus cured, does not later complain of rough treatment since this is borne by the invading ghost. Perhaps this relates to the less formulated, "nameless horrors" of unseen and unaccountable forces that cause otherwise unexplainable events - which concept pervades much of western thought to this day.

A major difference between nats and ghosts is that ghosts cause only harm while nats are ordinarily beneficial in the manner described above. Ghosts may also be controlled for evil purposes against individuals in a variety of black magic. The specialists in black magic are PAH-YON-GA-SAY (influence-masters) of black magic or "lower - "upper root" (heaven) masters combat the "lower root evil" root", (hell-evil), who administer the evil influence. Witches also have personal magic powers that allow them to cause harm to an individual by introducing foreign matter such as lumps of meat, hair balls, into the body of the victim. It is never known for sure who the witches are but old women of peculiar habits, and especially of the fishermen's group, are suspected. Such individuals are considered generally malivalent and special precautions are needed to avoid offending them. The influence masters, however, are well known and receive gift-fees for performing services either of causing or controlling black magic influences. Both groups, but especially the influence masters of the lower root control ghosts for their purposes.

A major means of securing control of a ghost or "ghost-rearing" is to get the finger bone of a recently deceased person who died a "raw death". Incantations said over the bone insures the obedience of

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the ghost who must then render services as requested. "To rear ghosts is like keeping a cobra in the pocket" indicates the delicate relationship between captive ghost and master. An individual with a grudge against another for real or imaginal offenses will frequently secure the services of an influence master and his "pet ghost". When the victim feels the effects, as in cases of sudden illnesses such as appendicitis, heart trouble, or fainting spells, his family contacts another influence master (upper root type) to, by incantations, cast out the ghost from the victim. This results in a secret contest of magic between the influence masters involved.

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In actual practice no influence masters admit to rearing ghosts and the first-cause aggressor does not identify himself as such. Influence masters play an important part in differences between affinal families. In this case the mother-in-law constantly competes with her son's wife for the attentions of the son. The mother will notice the lack of attentions, or monetary support of the son and his corresponding infatuation for his wife. She will claim that the wife is exercising magical control (usually through food) on the son. An influence master is applied to in order to control this evil influence by incantations, medicine, candles, and always an ingredient of money. When the wife's family understands what is happening they will also secure the help of another specialist to counteract the influence. The son is thus torn between the two forces. He is at first oblivious to this but later becomes uneasy in mind. If the strain on the son is too severe the mother may give in and the difference resolved on her part - whereupon the son continues in his former course. Often he will berate both groups saying "I am only mortal, you are foolish to involve yourselves in a dispute". Sometimes the mother wins and the son thanks her for intervening and saving him. Another common situation is where a wife seeks to control the influence of another woman on her husband (when he pilanders). In this case the forces are directed against the woman, who is to blame, and not the man.

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In the town centers the decline in one's fortunes is often blamed on the evil influence of one's rival. It is said that administrative

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families in Rangoon have worries of this kind - resolved by arrangements with influence masters - usually undertaken by the wives of the families. Ordinarily, violence is not premeditated but, spur-of-the-moment actions based on passions. If ill-feeling grows gradually it is best handled through the influence masters. The function of this system in the village is to avoid open conflict that might prove disastrous to the solidarity of the community (as say feuding families in open warfare).

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BURMESE DRAMATIC PRACTICE

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to be under the direct control of the state. But as living actors were now past such control, he turned his attention towards puppets, which were in great demand by the people. He realized the possibilities of puppets in the newly arisen national drama. The puppet show, which was then entirely independent of the drama and the living actors, started with different animals coming out one by one, and each gave a special dance to a particular tune of its own, played by the orchestra, then a *sangye*¹ appeared and danced, and finally, a prince and princess came out, made love, sang and danced. The puppets were from 2½ to 3 feet in height, and were worked by strings. As stage, there was a raised platform, with a black curtain, behind which the show-men stood and manipulated the puppets. The men's hands were visible, but as the platform was about four feet high and the audience had to look up, the hands did not distinctly come into the line of vision. The platform was about twenty feet in length, and the width of the part in front of the curtain was about four feet.

The minister put the puppet show under direct state patronage and control. Under him the puppet show became similar to an ordinary dramatic presentation except that puppets performed instead of living actors. The use of puppets to act the play of course caused the introduction of new puppets, but it also rendered the *sangye* and animal puppets unnecessary; yet they were retained all

¹ *Zangye* is the Burmese term for an alchemist. It is a derivative of the Indian word *yaga* but the Burmese alchemist has little in common with the Indian ascetic. It is an example of how names of Pali and semi-Buddhist origin were applied to already-existing native ideas.

A man (but not a woman) becomes a *sangye* when he has introduced into his body the right metal-compounds. To obtain those compounds, he has to experiment on metals with quicksilver or iron. In the first case, he becomes a 'quicksilver *sangye*' and in the second, an 'iron *sangye*', but both have the same powers. A *sangye* lives for millions of years, and can travel in the air, in water, or under the earth, for his body has reached the state when it is beyond the ordinary laws of nature. A halfway stage in the experiments is reached when a 'stone of live metal' (equivalent to the medieval 'philosopher's stone') is obtained. A person in actual possession of the stone can fly in the air and travel under the earth, but his powers are entirely dependent on the stone, i.e. his body is still an ordinary human body. The stone turns lead into silver and brass into gold. It will be seen that a Burman striving to become a *sangye* has much in common with the medieval European alchemist.

The beliefs connected with the *sangye* are still widely current. For a detailed account of Burmese alchemy, see the writer's 'Alchemy and Alchemists in Burma' in *Folk-Lore*, December 1933.

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INFERIOR RELIGIOUS ORDERS

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83. DAUTCHA YATHI.

Burma by pilgrims. Dried and gilt leaves are also brought as relics. The seeds of the tropical *ficus* species germinate in the fork of some other tree or in a cranny of masonry and flourish in such mould as they find. The roots develop thick bands which dislodge the masonry but, interlacing in all directions, hold the loose material together while the tree lives; or else, when the host is another tree, strangle it and take its place (Nos. 77, 245, 321).

The *yahdu* are not the only religious celibates of Burma. Several other classes follow this way of life, observing many or few rules, according to their own choice. Nearest to the *yahdu* are the *yathi*. They depend chiefly on alms, but cultivate gardens for themselves. Their appeal for alms is mute, they accept them in money as well as in kind, and they lay up a store for actual needs. They take food in the forenoon only. The *yathi*, who are few in number, live in forest caves or in derelict shrines,

and shift for themselves, singly or in small colonies. The majority study, though they do not teach; some are illiterate. They receive a certain deference from the laity, and themselves defer to the *yahdu*. The *yathi* are the subject of harmless satire and burlesque in the plays; the *yahdu* never. The robe is like that of the *yahdu*, but dyed tan instead of yellow. *Yathi* mostly shave the head, but there is a class who wear the hair long. Certain of them use a headgear called *dautcha*, which forms a receptacle for an image of the Buddha. Some are addicted to mild forms of occultism such as alchemy (p. 111) and devising cabalistic diagrams for charms and tattoo-marks. These practices are under the ban of Buddhism. Pretensions to occult powers, such as have



84. CAVE-SHRINE NEAR MAULMAIN.

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BURMA

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85. POTHUDAW.

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observe a rule parallel to that of the *Pothudaw*. They shave the head. Their robe is like that of the other celibates with the addition of a jacket. The cloth is dyed a faint red. Both they and the *pōthudaw* are generally individuals who have lost their family ties. In some places *kyauungs* are provided for *mēthila*, where they keep schools for girls. A few are possessed of learning. *Mēthila* are about as numerous as *pōthudaw*, and both together are about one-tenth to one-twentieth as numerous as *yahán*, and several times more so than *yathé*. There is no class of female recluses answering to *yahán*.

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Payadyin form colonies in the vicinities of the principal shrines and of the cemeteries of large towns. They are the descendants of temple slaves, the condition to which captives in war were reduced both by the Burman and the Taláing races during their incessant

been brought into a pseudo-connection with Buddhism by certain western neophytes of the Tibetan cult, are unheard of in Burma, which is the stronghold of primitive tradition.

Pōthudaw observe fewer *thila* than *yathé*. They make their appeal with a gong of triangular shape (*kytzi*, Nos. 22, 86), which spins on the string it hangs by, and emits a high and sustained throbbing note. *Pōthudaw* eat in the forenoon only. They accept alms in money and in kind, for which they carry baskets with a shoulder-yoke. They wear a white robe, shave the head, and pluck out the beard. *Pōthudaw* shift for themselves in *sayds* about the temples and seldom remain long in one place.

Mēthila are female celibates who



86. METHILA AT WORSHIP.